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THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF WHITE AND NEGRO YOUTH IN THE CITY OF BALTIMORE, INITIAL EXPERIENCES ON THE LABOR MARKET. INTERIM REPORT-1.

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TO REVEAL SOME OF THE FACTORS AND TRENDS BEHIND INEQUALITIES IN EMPLOYMENT, THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION OF BALTIMORE ENLISTED THE AID OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY TO CARRY OUT A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN BALTIMORE. SOME OF THE QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED WERE--(1) DO NEGROES AND WHITES WITH COMPARABLE EDUCATION RECEIVE COMPARABLE JOBS, AND (2) WHEN NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED IN COMPARABLE JOBS, DO THEY RECEIVE COMPARABLE EARNINGS. THE REPORT IS BASED ON THE SOCIAL SECURITY RECORD OF 1,044 GRADUATES WHO REPRESENT A RANDOM SAMPLE COMPRISING APPROXIMATELY 60 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL GROUP OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES WHO COMPLETED COURSES IN 12 TRADES OFFERED AT BOTH MERGENTHALER AND CARVER HIGH SCHOOLS DURING JUNE 1956 TO JUNE 1960. SOME CONCLUSIONS WERE--(1) WHITES EARNED FAR MORE THAN THE NEGROES (FIRST YEAR EMPLOYMENT FOR WHITES WAS $50 PER WEEK WHILE FOR NEGROES IT WAS $11 PER WEEK), (2) THE NEGRO MALES EARNED MORE THAN THE NEGRO FEMALES, (3) DIFFERENCES IN EARNINGS STEMMED FROM DIFFERENCES IN EMPLOYMENT RATES, FOR THE MOST PART, AND (4) DIFFERENCES IN EMPLOYMENT DID NOT ABRUPTLY START AT GRADUATION, BUT CONTINUED A PATTERN THAT WAS WELL UNDER WAY AT GRADUATION. IT WAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE SOURCES OF THE DIFFERENTIALS IN FEMALE AND MALE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCED BY THE CARVER AND MERGENTHALER GRADUATES RECEIVE A HIGH RESEARCH PRIORITY. (SL)

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THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF WHITE AND NEGRO YOUTH IN THE CITY OF BALTIMORE

Bernard Levenson
Edmund D. Meyers, Jr.

Initial Experiences on the Labor Market

(Interim Report #1)

Prepared for the
City of Baltimore
Equal Opportunity Commission

April 1963

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BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Since its inception the Equal Opportunity Commission has been interested in assembling facts bearing on the relative employment and earnings of Negroes and whites in the Baltimore community. That Negroes in the United States have considerably lower earnings than whites and considerably higher rates of unemployment is, of course, well-documented. But the question that is not satisfactorily answered - and one on which the direction of social and legal efforts depends - is how much of the inequality results from patent discrimination by employers (and unions and employment agencies) and how much from discrimination in the quantity and quality of education that Negroes receive vis à vis whites? For it is also well-documented that, on the average, Negro students receive fewer years of formal education in schools that are characteristically inferior in staff and facilities to those available to whites.

To unravel some of the factors and trends behind inequalities in employment, the Equal Opportunity Commission enlisted the aid of the Department of Social Relations at Johns Hopkins University to carry out a systematic study of employment opportunities of Negroes and whites in Baltimore. Briefly, the Commission sought to know the answers to questions such as these:

-- Do Negroes and whites in Baltimore with comparable education receive comparable jobs?

-- When Negroes are employed in comparable jobs, do they receive comparable earnings?

-- When earnings are unequal, what is the pattern of inequality over the occupational career? Is the differential constant? Or is it initially narrow but diverges with increased longevity on the labor market? Or is the gap greatest at the outset but narrows with experience?

-- What changes, if any, have occurred in recent years, both absolutely and relatively with respect to earnings and rates of unemployment? In what trades have the differences widened, remained the same, or narrowed?

-- How does the pattern of employment in Baltimore compare with the country as a whole?

To answer such questions several thousand workers in each racial group and each educational level would have to be interviewed periodically. Those familiar with the mechanics and costs of survey research know that a single interview of this kind costs $10 to $15. Given the fact that the budget of this study was $3000, it is evident that research carried out through conventional survey means was prohibitive. But even had the Board of Estimates allocated ten or twenty times as much money for the research, it is still dubious that the aims of the study could be reliably met.

The crucial information concerns earnings and employment at various stages of the occupational career of Negroes and whites. That workers can accurately recall their earnings and unemployment over a period of, say, four years - the period that the data in this report cover - and would be motivated to report it accurately to interviewers is a doubtful assumption. Moreover, almost all economic or sociological investigations under-represent the lowest socio-economic stratum, the stratum in which many, if not most, of the respondents in such a study would be classified. There are many reasons for this under-representation. People in this stratum are distrustful of inquiries. Many are living at the margin of subsistence and out of self-esteem do not wish their "failure" to be visible. Others are receiving public or private assistance and perceive any sort of interviewing to have official origins for the purpose of checking-up on them or as a prelude to withdrawal of assistance. Many are highly mobile; the typical rate of

residential movement is about 17 in 100 families per year but in the lowest stratum the rate is much higher. Not all of their mobility is voluntary: many are evicted to make way for urban renewal projects and half cannot be subsequently located. Others, in one way or another, are involved in irregular family arrangements.

In short, whatever the budget, it would be impossible to locate any substantial number, to re-interview them periodically concerning their occupational careers and to secure reliable information. The study that was finally devised - that is more reliable than any other approach for this type of problem and that precludes any biases on the part of EOC personnel or Hopkins researchers from intruding into the collection or analysis of the data - took advantage of the fact that exceedingly accurate records of earnings and employment for about 90 percent of paid employment are maintained by the Social Security Administration.

Data from these records were obtained (by methods which preserve the confidentiality of the records) for nine graduating classes of Mergenthaler and Carver Vocational-Technical High Schools in Baltimore.[1] These two schools were proposed by the Equal Opportunity Commission as a strategic group to initiate a study of differential employment opportunities. Less than 2 percent of the students at Mergenthaler are nonwhite; and none of the Carver students is white. Both high schools have comparable facilities and are staffed by teachers conforming to the same requirements.

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1. As required by law and regulations, the data provided do not disclose information relating to individuals. The Social Security Administration was reimbursed for this service. In providing the data, the Administration, of course, assumes no responsibility for the analysis nor conclusions.

In theory, graduates of Mergenthaler and Carver High Schools could go to college, but very few do so. Practically, therefore, both vocational schools represent terminal educational institutions. Consequently, extreme differences in the employment and earnings of the students of the two schools would suggest differential treatment by employment agencies, unions or employers, or that the vocational guidance and placement programs warrant re-appraisal.

Before presenting employment and earnings data, three facts should be stated:

(1) Some of the graduates who are included in these data may have left Baltimore. Since this report covers only the first year or two after induction into the labor market, obviously the number of emigrating graduates could not be high enough to invalidate the results. The majority of graduates were born in Baltimore and are unlikely to leave the city unless there are compelling pressures upon them or their families.[1] Those who left the city to enter the armed forces are included in the statistics; their base pay is reported for social security records.[2]

To the extent that any sizeable number of graduates have left Baltimore the bias would probably be in the direction of raising the level of earnings and employment.[3]

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1. Specifically, 67 percent of the Carver females were born in Baltimore, 70 percent of the Carver males, 81 percent of the Mergenthaler males, and 84 percent of the Mergenthaler females.

2. For comparison with some of the earnings data to be presented, privates are paid $78 per month for the first four months of service and $83.20 per month thereafter.

3. With a considerably larger expenditure, it would have been possible to secure from Social Security figures on geographical mobility.

(2) Social Security has retained in their files the account numbers of the records that were transmitted to Hopkins. Thus, BOC may be able to follow-up the employment careers of the men and women graduates of Carver and Mergenthaler. Possibly subsequent graduating classes will be incorporated into the research, thus providing at relatively small cost a continuing "barometer" of equal employment opportunities. More cohorts and longer series of earnings and employment data will facilitate conclusions concerning trends in the different trades, and between Negroes and whites. Much of the cost of this study went into the search by Social Security for the account numbers. Since these are now available for this sample, the cost and time of up-dating the records will be relatively small.

(3) It should be emphasized that this study includes only high school graduates. The results, therefore, cannot be applied to non-graduates.[1]

Although all of the individuals in the sample are high school graduates, for most of them graduation does not mark an abrupt change from a full-time high school student to a full-time worker role. Pre-graduation employment patterns indicate that a considerable number of both male and female students in both schools and in each graduating cohort are employed.

This initial report presents a factual account of the earnings and employment during the first year or so after the students have left high school. Subsequent reports will cover employment and earnings for the entire period that our data permit; from those data we will attempt to infer whether later periods in the occupational career differ from earlier

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1. Dr. Edward Griefsu, principal of Mergenthaler High School, suggested to us that vocational school 'dropouts' may very well have saleable skills whereas an academic high school graduate who does not go on to college may not have.

periods. Also, we will examine pre-graduation employment and earnings, covering both summer vacations and employment during the school year. We will want to see whether working while attending school is correlated with post-graduate employment success. In subsequent reports, moreover, patterns of employment and earnings will be examined by trade; in this report no tabulations are stratified by trade.

Sample

This study includes only graduates who pursued courses taught at both Mergenthaler High School and at Carver High School during the years 1956 - 1960. For males, comparison of the course offerings listed in the school catalogs revealed nine common trades:

1. Auto Mechanics
2. Carpentry
3. Commercial Art
4. Electrical Construction and Maintenance
5. Food Preparation and Service
6. Machine Shop, Tool, and Die Making
7. Radio, Television, and Electronics
8. Trowel Trades
9. Welding

After the records for those graduating from June 1956 to June 1960 were secured from the schools, it developed that the number of graduates in some of these trades were quite small. For example, at Carver there were only 11 graduates in Food Preparation, 21 Machinists, and 10 Welders; at Mergenthaler, there were 9 Welders and no graduates in Food Preparation.

For females, three trades were included:

1. Business Education
2. Cosmetology
3. Dressmaking

(In Business Education, no distinction was made between those who had taken stenography and those who had not.)

Excluded from the study were trades taught either at Carver or at Mergenthaler but not both. These are listed in table 1 of the Appendix.

The results for the twelve common trades can be extrapolated to the other trades only with caution. It should be noted, however, that for Carver High School graduates these twelve trades comprise about 85 percent of all of the graduates in the nine classes studied. For Mergenthaler, these trades constitute about 70 percent of the graduates. Of the remaining 30 percent, three-fourths pursued courses in mechanical drafting, printing, or airplane mechanics.[1] How the trades taught only at Mergenthaler compare with the common trades is a matter for empirical investigation.

In all, 1108 Social Security records were secured out of a total of 1722 graduates in the twelve trades. However, 64 of these records were omitted from the tabulations in this report: 33 showed no earnings at all; 29 had no Social Security account number; and 2 cases could not be positively identified by Social Security. Subsequent analysis has suggested that the decision to omit these cases was overly conservative. Because of these omissions, the figures to be presented somewhat over-estimate earnings and employment.

The report is therefore based on the records of 1,044 graduates. They are classified as follows:

SEX	SCHOOL		TOTAL
	Carver H.S.	Mergenthaler H.S.	
Males	210	283	(493)
Females	244	307	(551)
TOTALS:	(454)	(590)	(1044)

1. Printing has since been added to the course offerings at Carver.

These 1,044 graduates represent a random sample comprising approximately 60 percent of the graduates in the twelve trades for the nine graduating classes from June 1956 to June 1960.[1]

Further details concerning the number in each graduating class, the number sampled, and birthplaces of the graduates appear in the Appendix.

I. WAGES AFTER GRADUATION

A. White and Negro Females

The data provided by the Social Security Administration present the earnings for each calendar year. Consequently, it is necessary to examine separately the earnings of the January graduates and the June graduates; that is, their earnings refer to different periods after graduation. Table 1 below shows the median weekly earnings for the females who graduated in each of the four January graduating classes.[2]

TABLE 1

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FEMALES IN JANUARY GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S. Earnings	(Base)	Mergenthaler H.S. Earnings	(Base)
January 1957	1957	$13.85	(5)	$40.65	(29)
January 1958	1958	2.40	(15)	40.00	(15)
January 1959	1959	16.44	(15)	37.81	(16)
January 1960	1960	11.27	(17)	43.27	(21)

1. The Social Security Administration did the sampling to preserve the confidentiality of the records.

2. The median earnings shown on this page and on following pages are computed with the inclusion of people who had no earnings at all in individual years.

(Insofar as most readers are more familiar with weekly than annual earnings, we have divided the median annual earnings by 52. A weekly figure of $13.85, for instance, can come about in a variety of ways: by working every week and earning $13,85; by working only half of the year and earning $27.70 when working; by working only a third of the year and earning $41.55 when working, etc.) For the four classes the median earnings for the Carver female is approximately $11 a week compared to her counterpart at Mergenthaler who earns about $40 per week. The reader should remember that these figures refer to gross earnings, not 'take-home' pay. Out of the $13.85 per week for the January 1957 class of Carver females must come 3% Social Security deduction, carfare, state and federal taxes, etc. The figure $2.40 for the 15 Carver females in the January 1958 class may seem to be an error since it looks so far out of line with the other figures. But it is probably a reflection of the 1958 recession and its differential impact on Negroes. What is, perhaps, a little startling is that these 15 females apparently do not regain the lost ground; a year later this group is still considerably behind the other classes.

The June graduating classes should show higher earnings than the January ones because of the fact that the earnings cover the twelve months starting with the January of the year following graduation; that is, for the June 1956 graduates, earnings are recorded for the calendar year 1957, for June 1957 graduates earnings are for 1958, etc. Both Negroes and whites graduating in June do show higher median earnings: for the Carver females if all of the classes were aggregated the median would be about $13.50 per week whereas for the Mergenthaler female graduate the median would be about $46 per week (Table 2).

TABLE 2

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FEMALES IN JUNE GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S.		Mergenthaler H.S.	
		Earnings	(Base)	Earnings	(Base)
June 1956	1957	$ 9.67	(35)	$46.69	(45)
June 1957	1958	2.71	(34)	44.54	(59)
June 1958	1959	15.83	(45)	50.31	(45)
June 1959	1960	8.77	(44)	37.85	(38)
June 1960	1961	16.62	(34)	50.50	(39)

If we examine the progress of the January graduates a year later much the same pattern appears as in the first year, both absolutely and relatively. Table 3 shows the median earnings 13-24 months after graduation from high school. Half of the Carver females are not earning the equivalent of $11 per week, whereas the Mergenthaler females earn $40 to $50 a week, with the exception of the unexplained January 1960 figure of $29.33.[1]

1. $29.33 may be the result of incomplete and delinquent wage reporting and posting.

TABLE 3

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FEMALES GRADUATED

IN JANUARY GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S.		Mergenthaler H.S.	
		Earnings	(Base)	Earnings	(Base)
January 1957	1958	$11.83	(5)	$49.88	(29)
January 1958	1959	5.38	(15)	44.81	(12)
January 1959	1960	10.13	(15)	48.71	(16)
January 1960	1961	15.40	(17)	29.33	(21)

When we first discussed with the principals of the two high schools the possibility of doing this research, the question uppermost in their minds was whether we would be able to tell them whether their students worked in the occupations that they were trained for. Unfortunately, for the study, Social Security does not have this information. But it is apparent that a substantial number of the Negro females are not working in the trade in which they majored - nor for that matter do they seem to be working in any other trade. Approximately 48% earn less than $500 in their first year of employment and scarcely improve in the second. Only one in six earns the equivalent of a full-time job paying $1.00 per hour. Whatever the explanation for the nonemployment, it is doubtful that under such conditions a girl trained in typing and stenography can retain her training, much less maintain any competitive position in the labor market.

It is obvious that the Mergenthaler female graduates earn more than the Carver females. Table 4, perhaps, shows more dramatically the differential employment opportunities. Of the thirteen ratios in the table only one exceeds 50 percent. Although the ratios are irregular, due in part to the erratic earnings and employment of Carver graduates, a reasonable estimate of the Carver female earnings relative to the Mergenthaler female earnings would be 25 to 30 percent.

How do the Carver-Mergenthaler figures compare with those of the entire country? Figure 1, below, depicts nonwhite earnings of all females with wage or salary income as a percent of white earnings.[1] For females the differential in earnings did not start to narrow until after World War II; since then it has been narrowing by about one percent per year. Some have read from these numbers signs of slow though steady progress; others disagree that they represent authentic progress towards professed American ideals of equal opportunity. Michael Harrington, for example, writes:

> ". . . At this rate, the Negro would reach parity with the white some time well after the year 2000 . . . [moreover] the figures were somewhat more optimistic than the reality. Part of the Negro gain reflected the shift of rural Negroes to cities and Southern Negroes to the North. In both cases the people involved increased their income by going into a more prosperous section of the country. . ."[2]

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1. Source: The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin S-3, Revised 1962, p. 9. Only percentages for the years shown in Figure 1 are given in the bulletin. In view of differences in definition and scope comparisons of data from this study with overall national data should be regarded with caution. These comparisons are made in order to put the Carver-Mergenthaler data in a broader perspective.

2. Michael Harrington, The Other America (Poverty in the United States), New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962, pp. 72-73.

TABLE 4

MEDIAN CARVER FEMALE EARNINGS AS PERCENT OF MEDIAN MERGENTHALER FEMALE EARNINGS

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	PERCENT	
January 1957	1957	34	(1 - 12
January 1958	1958	6	months
January 1959	1959	43	after
January 1960	1960	26	graduation)
June 1956	1957	21	(7 - 18
June 1957	1958	6	months
June 1958	1959	31	after
June 1959	1960	23	graduation)
June 1960	1961	33	
January 1957	1958	24	(13 - 24
January 1958	1959	12	months
January 1959	1960	21	after
January 1960	1961	53	graduation)

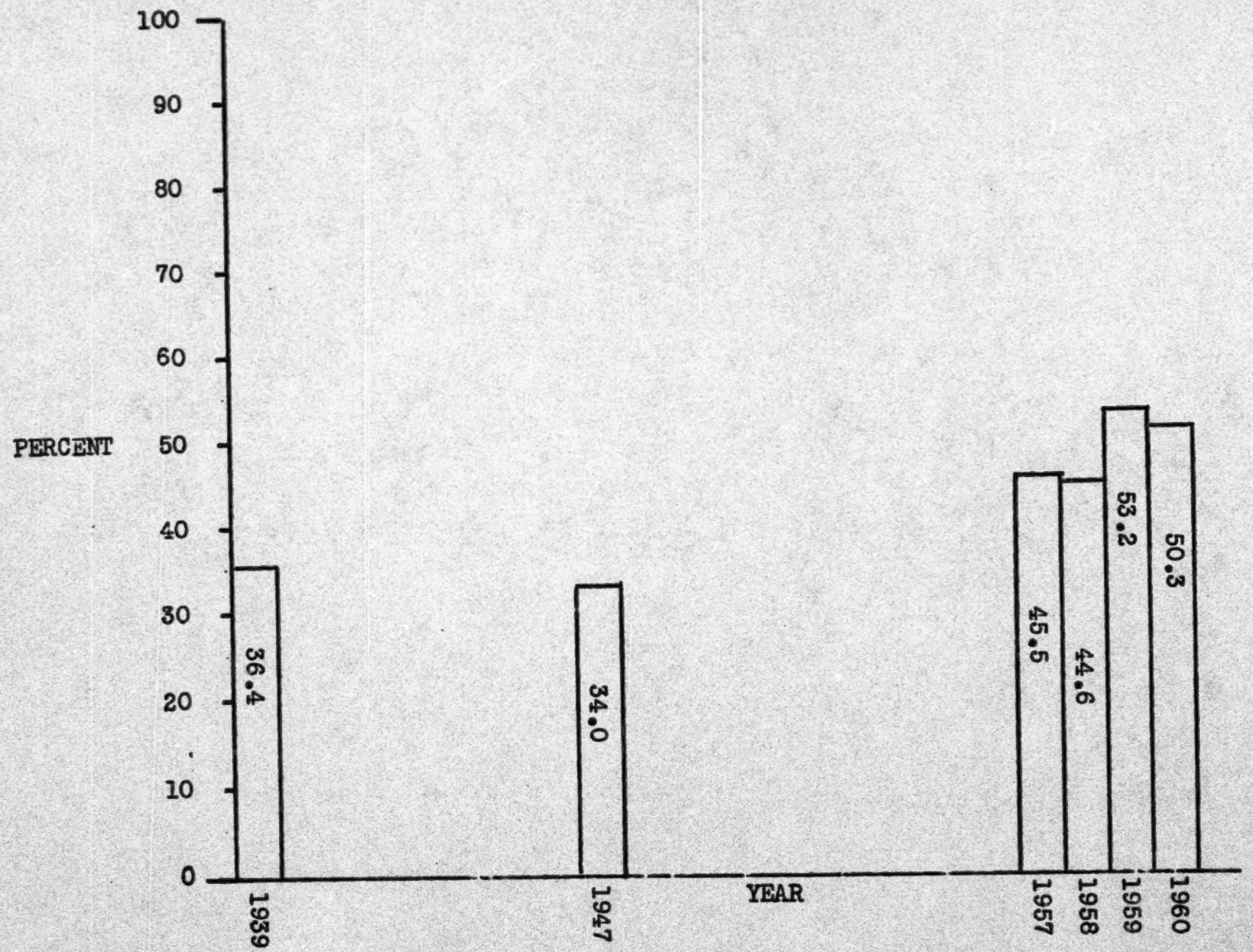
Without arguing the merits of Harrington's case, it appears that the Carver-Mergenthaler ratios are less than the national ones. The national figures, moreover, compare white and Negro workers where the white women have, on the average, 2 - 3 years' more schooling than the Negro women. Carver and Mergenthaler females, however, are closely matched in age,

training, education, and geography. Also, no narrowing of the Carver-Mergenthaler differences during the last four years is evident, although if the narrowing is of the same order of magnitude as in the national figures it could be obscured by the random variations in the ratios.

After the corresponding earnings data for the males and the employment data for females have been reported, we will consider some explanations for these differences - other than discrimination by employers, employment agencies, and labor unions.

FIGURE 1

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF ALL NONWHITE FEMALES AS A PERCENT OF MEDIAN WHITE EARNINGS (1939-1960)



B. White and Negro Males

We turn now to a comparison of earnings data for corresponding groups of males. Tables 5, 6, and 7 reveal the median earnings for the January classes covering the year that the students graduated from high school, for the June classes covering the twelve months beginning with the following January, and for the January classes for the second year after graduation.

Examination of these tables shows that in each graduating class for every period considered the median Mergenthaler earnings exceeds the median Carver earnings. In absolute terms, the median Carver earning tends to be about $22 per week contrasted to the median Mergenthaler earnings of around $38. In relative terms, the median Carver earnings as a percent of median Mergenthaler earnings comes to approximately 60 percent, although there is considerable variability in the percentages. The variability seems to stem more from the volatility of the Mergenthaler median incomes which range from $25.38 to $63.67.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MALES IN JANUARY GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S.		Mergenthaler H.S.	
		Earnings	(Base)	Earnings	(Base)
January 1957	1957	$24.96	(11)	$35.25	(22)
January 1958	1958	22.86	(11)	35.69	(13)
January 1959	1959	16.15	(14)	48.31	(20)
January 1960	1960	20.12	(21)	38.90	(14)

TABLE 6

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MALES IN JUNE GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S.		Mergenthaler H.S.	
		Earnings	(Base)	Earnings	(Base)
June 1956	1957	$20.06	(23)	$51.69	(37)
June 1957	1958	28.56	(30)	36.52	(45)
June 1958	1959	22.15	(28)	46.21	(31)
June 1959	1960	21.36	(54)	25.38	(54)
June 1960	1961	22.52	(18)	28.62	(47)

TABLE 7

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MALES IN JANUARY GRADUATING CLASSES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	SCHOOL			
		Carver H.S.		Mergenthaler H.S.	
		Earnings	(Base)	Earnings	(Base)
January 1957	1958	$32.10	(11)	$40.04	(22)
January 1958	1959	37.13	(11)	46.13	(13)
January 1959	1960	23.98	(14)	63.67	(20)
January 1960	1961	21.63	(21)	34.62	(14)

In the same way that we compared the differential earnings of Carver and Mergenthaler females with the national figures, let us carry out similar comparisons for the Negro and white males.

Nationally, for all males with wage or salary income, the nonwhite earnings as a percent of white earnings is depicted in Figure 2. The gap between Negro and white males started to narrow during World War II as a result of the demand for skilled and semi-skilled labor in the defense plants and as a result of federal influence on policies of employment. And for the first time, Negro males secured skilled jobs from which they had generally been excluded, such as welders, machinists, electricians, etc. During the last two decades the narrowing has amounted to slightly less than 20 percent: from 1939 to 1947 it narrowed by about 1½% per year; from 1947 to 1960, by about ½% per year.

Table 8 lists the median male Carver earnings as a percent of Mergenthaler earnings at various periods after graduation for the nine graduating classes. The percentages range from 33 to 84 percent; averaging all of them yields 62.3 as an overall estimate, which compares more favorably with the national figures than was the case for the females.[1]

In each case we have compared cohorts - that is Carver and Mergenthaler males who graduated from high school at the same time. But we can raise the question: how long on the labor market does it take for a Carver graduate to equal the earnings of a Mergenthaler graduate during his first year? To get an idea we will list the median earnings of the Mergenthaler January graduates for the period 1-12 months subsequent to graduation.

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1. Since the year-to-year percentages reveal no trend, more accurate estimates probably could be secured by pooling all of the Mergenthaler and the Carver classes and computing the medians from the consolidated classes. If EOC, at some later date, decides to include in the study classes after June 1960 the series of earnings covering longer periods may make it possible to discern trends, despite the fluctuations in earnings.

FIGURE 2

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF ALL NONWHITE MALES AS A PERCENT OF MEDIAN WHITE EARNINGS (1939-1960)

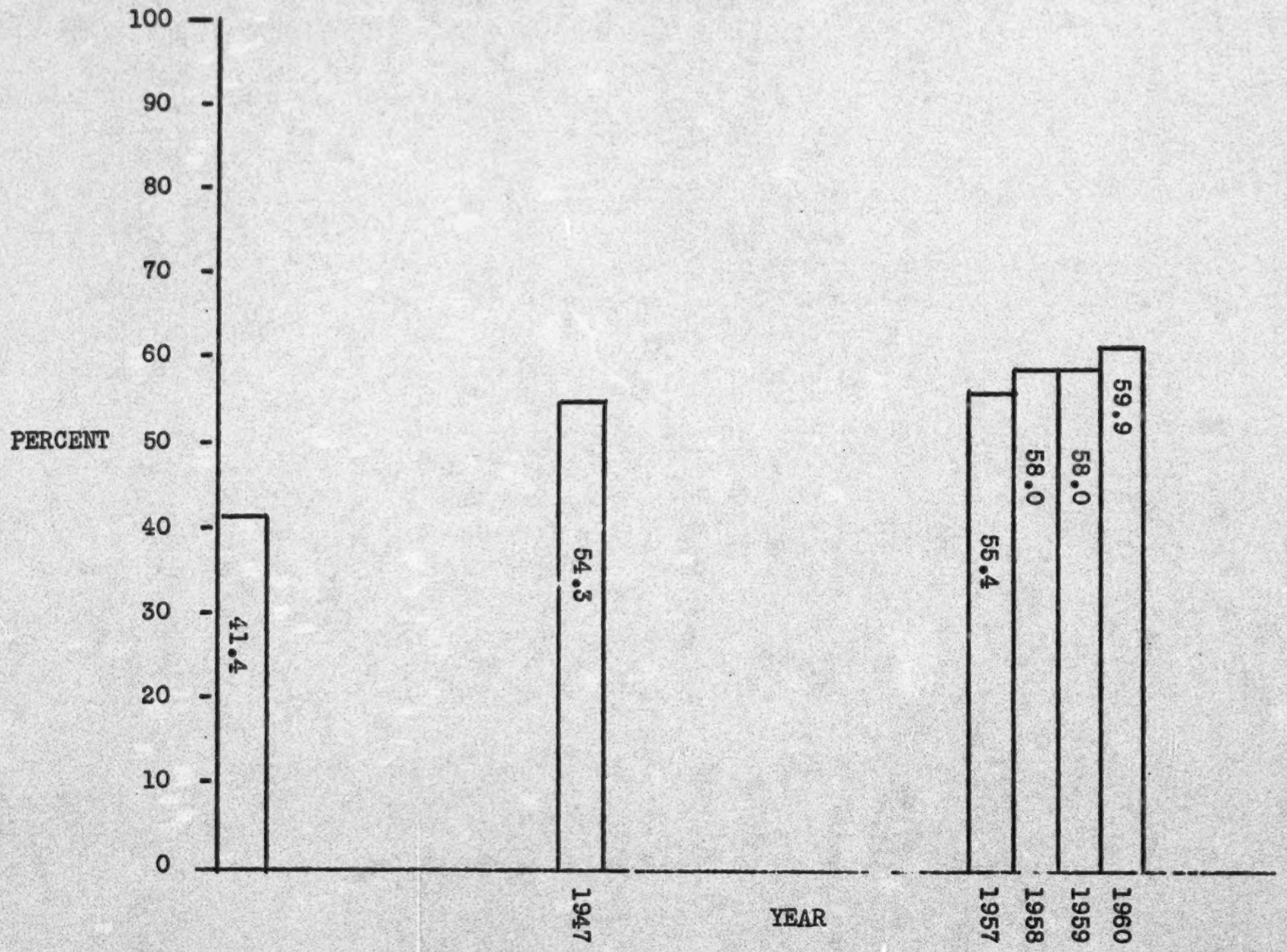

TABLE 8

MEDIAN MALE CARVER EARNINGS AS A PERCENT OF MEDIAN MALE MERGENTHALER EARNINGS, BY PERIOD AFTER GRADUATION

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	PERCENT	
January 1957	1957	71	(1 - 12
January 1958	1958	64	months
January 1959	1959	33	after
January 1960	1960	52	graduation)
June 1956	1957	39	(7 - 18
June 1957	1958	78	months
June 1958	1959	48	after
June 1959	1960	84	graduation)
June 1960	1961	79	
January 1957	1958	80	(13-- 24
January 1958	1959	81	months
January 1959	1960	38	after
January 1960	1961	63	graduation)

and the median earnings of the Carver June graduates for the period covering 6-18 months after graduation:

RANK	MEDIAN EARNINGS	SCHOOL	CLASS	PERIOD
1	$48.31	Mergenthaler	January 1959	1-12 months
2	38.90	Mergenthaler	January 1960	1-12 months
3	35.69	Mergenthaler	January 1958	1-12 months
4	35.25	Mergenthaler	January 1957	1-12 months
5	28.56	Carver	June 1957	7-18 months
6	22.52	Carver	June 1960	7-18 months
7	22.15	Carver	June 1958	7-18 months
8	21.36	Carver	June 1959	7-18 months
9	20.06	Carver	June 1956	7-18 months

Allowing a labor market "headway" of six months, the highest median of the Carver classes still does not equal the lowest Mergenthaler class. Evidently more than six months on the labor market is required before the Carver medians equal the first-year Mergenthaler earnings.

In summary then, during the first year or two after graduation from high school, the Negro females earn the equivalent of about $11 per week; the Negro males earn about twice as much; the white males earn about $38 per week, while the white females earn more than $40. In percentages, the female Negro graduate can expect to earn 25-30 percent of her white counterpart; the Negro male can expect to earn about 62 percent of his counterpart. In spite of considerable fluctuations in both absolute and relative figures, in no class and for no period did either male or female Negroes equal comparable earnings for whites.[1]

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1. Although the median earnings of each Mergenthaler class exceeds the median earnings of the corresponding Carver classes, it should be emphasized that not all Carver graduates do poorly nor do all Mergenthaler graduates do well.

II. EMPLOYMENT AFTER GRADUATION

A. Employment of White and Negro Females

So far we have contrasted earnings of Mergenthaler and Carver graduates. While earnings are useful as a gross indicator of differential opportunity it is the result of two components - rate of employment and rate of earnings when employed. These two factors, while not independent, need not vary in the same way. Sometimes tactics intended to increase wages of a deprived group have the unintended effect of increasing their rate of unemployment, and sometimes tactics which increase employment tend to reduce wages. Just as we examined absolute and relative earnings in Part I, so in Part II we will examine absolute and relative employment.

It is necessary to preface our examination of employment by stating how employment is measured here. We use social security coverage for each quarterly period as a measure of employment. In general, there is a $50 per employer per quarter minimum for coverage.[1] With this minimal definition of employment we might expect virtually every graduate to be employed. Unfortunately, this is not the situation.

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1. Although there is a $50 minimum coverage, industrial and commercial wages of $1 or more are reported and included in Social Security records. For agricultural labor and for self-employment the minimum coverage is different. There is a general minimum of $150 per year for agricultural labor and a $400 minimum for self-employment. However, no graduates were employed at any time in agricultural labor; the proportion who were self-employed was infinitesimal.

Our data show only the total earnings for each calendar year, although for substantially greater expense earnings information by quarterly period could have been obtained. This would have provided a more reliable determination of employment.

Annual earnings paid by any one employer to any one employee are taxable up to a maximum of $4200 for 1957 and 1958, and $4800 from 1959 on.

Table 9 shows the proportion of female graduates of Carver H.S. who are employed during each of the first four quarters of the year subsequent to graduation. For example, looking across the first row of Table 9, for the class of June 1956, we see that 46% were employed during the first three months after graduating from Carver (that is, July, August, and September of 1956), 46% were employed during the second quarter after graduation, 54% were employed in the third quarter, and 51% during the fourth quarter. Although there is a great deal of variability in the percentages, inspection shows that the highest is 80 (for the five graduates of the January 1957 class during the second quarter after leaving high school) and that the lowest is 27 (for the 34 graduates of the June 1957 class for their fourth quarter subsequent to graduation). Inspection of the percentages reveals, too, that employment is typically lowest in the first quarter and then employment tends to be about the same during the other three quarters.

If we combine all of the classes from June 1956 to June 1960 we can see why the average wages of the Carver females are low. During their first quarter out of high school only 40% are employed; thereafter the percentage rises another 10% or so. The justification for combining the classes is that no trend in the level of employment over the four years is discernible. While there are variations from quarter to quarter and from class to class, the figure which characterizes employment of the Carver females in their first year after graduation is 50 percent (Table 10).

TABLE 9

PERCENT OF CARVER H.S. FEMALES EMPLOYED DURING EACH OF FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION

GRADUATING CLASS	PERCENT EMPLOYED				BASE
	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER	
June 1956	46%	46%	54%	51%	(35)
January 1957	60	80	60	60	(5)
June 1957	29	47	35	27	(34)
January 1958	40	53	40	40	(15)
June 1958	33	51	51	62	(45)
January 1959	53	60	60	40	(15)
June 1959	52	57	52	52	(44)
January 1960	29	65	71	59	(17)
June 1960	35	62	62	59	(34)

TABLE 10

PERCENT OF CARVER H.S. FEMALE GRADUATES WHO ARE EMPLOYED DURING FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION (ALL CLASSES FROM JUNE 1956 TO JUNE 1960 COMBINED)

QUARTER	PERCENT EMPLOYED
First	40%
Second	55
Third	52
Fourth	50

How about the white females? Here the employment situation is optimistic and also suggests why their wages are relatively high (Table 11).

The Mergenthaler females, evidently, do not encounter any barriers in getting jobs; the 7% decline in their level of employment from the first to fourth quarters (Table 12) is probably attributable to voluntary exit from the labor market. Actually, most of the Mergenthaler females work steadily for two or three years after graduation; while they are working generally make $40-$50 a week and have a fair chance of getting a salary increase in their second year. When they leave the labor market they apparently leave with some experience and credentials in a craft to which they can return after raising a family. As far as the Negro females are concerned, their wages and employment are so low and irregular that it is difficult to distinguish which ones are working regularly, part-time, part-year, or not at all. In any case, a reasonable approximation of the extent of differential employment opportunities for the first year is given in Table 13, below.

TABLE 11

PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER H.S. FEMALES EMPLOYED DURING EACH OF FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION

GRADUATING CLASS	PERCENT EMPLOYED				BASE
	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER	
June 1956	82%	87%	82%	76%	(45)
January 1957	90	86	79	83	(29)
June 1957	90	90	86	80	(59)
January 1958	86	93	93	86	(15)
June 1958	98	93	93	96	(45)
January 1959	94	88	88	88	(16)
June 1959	90	87	84	79	(38)
January 1960	91	95	91	76	(21)
June 1960	92	92	90	90	(39)

TABLE 12

PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER HIGH SCHOOL FEMALE GRADUATES WHO ARE EMPLOYED DURING FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION (ALL CLASSES FROM JUNE 1956 TO JUNE 1960 COMBINED)

QUARTER	PERCENT EMPLOYED
First	90%
Second	90
Third	87
Fourth	83

TABLE 13

EMPLOYED NEGRO FEMALES AS PERCENT OF EMPLOYED WHITE FEMALES (ALL CLASSES FROM JUNE 1956 TO JUNE 1960)

QUARTER	PERCENT
First	44%
Second	61
Third	60
Fourth	60

Several explanations can be thought of to explain the differences in employment of the Carver and Mergenthaler female graduates. The explanations are somewhat at odds with each other - which suggests that what is needed are not more plausible explanations but more facts.

First, there is the possibility that Carver females are employed much more than our data indicate but for various reasons their employment does not appear in the Social Security records. Second, there is the possibility that Carver females are not employed for reasons unconnected with discriminatory practices by employers, employment agencies, or labor unions.

Consider the possibility that they are employed. Perhaps a great number of Carver females work for the federal government. Since the great majority of Federal Government workers are covered by their own retirement system and do not contribute to Social Security, our data would not show employment for these workers.[1] Although some female graduates from Carver undoubtedly do work for the government - probably the Social Security Administration, since it is one of Baltimore's largest employers, and although there has been an increase in recent years in the percentage of nonwhites employed by the federal government (9.7% in 1956 and 10.7% in 1960) - it is not altogether credible to suppose that Carver females work for the government at a rate that could decisively alter the results reported here. It would have to be 25% in excess of the Mergenthaler rate. And if Carver graduates were capable enough to pass Civil Service Examinations but overwhelmingly prefer to work for the government than Baltimore employers it would surely be of concern to learn the reasons for their preferences and whether there is any justification for them.

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1. Almost all Maryland state employment is covered by Social Security. Coverage of local government employment is almost complete except for policemen and firemen.

It is also possible that many Carver females are employed in domestic work and that among such workers Social Security coverage is under-reported.[1] Part of the under-reporting may arise from ignorance on the part of housewife-employers concerning the procedure; part may arise out of tacit acceptance of non-filing by domestic workers. To people who earn $6 a day for domestic work, the payment of $.25 insurance for retirement forty years later may seem like the height of luxury. If domestic employment explains the low rate of employment of Carver females, then in the short-run it means that the training they received at Carver has been virtually wasted; and in the long-run they might not receive disability and retirement benefits under Social Security.[2]

Consider now the possibility that Carver females have low rates of employment but for non-discriminatory reasons. The most obvious reason is that they leave the labor market because of early marriage. Although marriage statistics are usually less reliable than vital statistics involving certification by physicians (such as birth or death), the available statistics do not support this theory. It is true that in Maryland as well as in the rest of the country there is an increasing proportion of teen-age brides and teen-age mothers. In 1959, for example, about two-fifths of all brides were in their teens and more

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1. One student of race relations estimates that about 10 percent of Negro women who finish college end up as domestic workers. Dr. Herman H. Long, "Guidance and Minority Youth," in The American Dream . . . Equal Opportunity, Report on the Community Leaders' Conference Sponsored by President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D. C., May 19, 1962, p. 41.

2. This year, Dr. Benjamin Whitten, vice-principal of Carver H.S. conducted a mail follow-up study of 1962 graduates. Of 121 female graduates, 75 responded to his inquiry. None of the 75 stated that she was employed in private household work.

than half of the teen-age wives were mothers. But for the year 1959, the median age of white brides in the State of Maryland was 19.6 contrasted to 21.8 years for nonwhite brides.[1] Moreover, Maryland is no exception with regard to whites marrying at a younger age. Of 16 states where nonwhites comprised 10 or more percent of the population, 15 reported the same relationship. The only inversion occurred in the state of Virginia, where the median age of white brides was 20.7 and the age of nonwhite brides was 20.6. The same relationship between race and age holds for nonwhite grooms. That Negro females marry younger is one of those items of sociological folklore which everyone knows, including most sociologists, but has little empirical support.[2]

Of course, marriage does not disable a person from working. It may be that white girls marry earlier than Negro girls but have children later. Some unpublished data made available to us indicate that in Baltimore City pre-marital conception rates among Negro couples exceed those for white couples.[3]

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1. Marriage and Divorce Statistics, Vol. 1, Section 2, p. 21, Vital Statistics of the United States, 1959. U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Office of Vital Statistics.

2. The argument would not be valid, of course, if Carver females tended to be older than Mergenthaler females at the time of high school graduation. Age at graduation, however, is the same. (See Appendix, Table 7.)

3. The data are from a study among Baltimore resident couples who married in Baltimore City during 1959. The study is being done by Sidney Norton, Baltimore City Health Department and Margaret Bright, Department of Chronic Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health. (See Appendix, Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11.)

It is difficult to measure precisely, but the net effect of the earlier age of marriage of white girls and the earlier time of pre-marital conception of Negro girls may be to impel white and Negro girls to leave the labor market at about the same time. In any event, there is no persuasive evidence that the differences in employment rates reported here can be accounted for by differential marriage or pregnancy patterns.[1]

Analysis of pre-graduate employment rates suggests that whatever the explanations for the differences in employment rates of Carver and Mergenthaler female graduates they are probably to be found before graduation. Figure 3 shows the employment rates of Carver and Mergenthaler females for a period one year before graduation and one year after graduation. It is evident from the graph that differences in employment rates do not abruptly start at graduation but are an extension of a process that is well under way at graduation. One year before graduation there is a 36% difference in employment rate and that difference persists for two years.

Other explanations might be thought of but it is apparent that the high rate of non-employment of Carver Females, both before and after graduation, is a problem fraught with social hazard. More needs to be known about its sources and its consequences.

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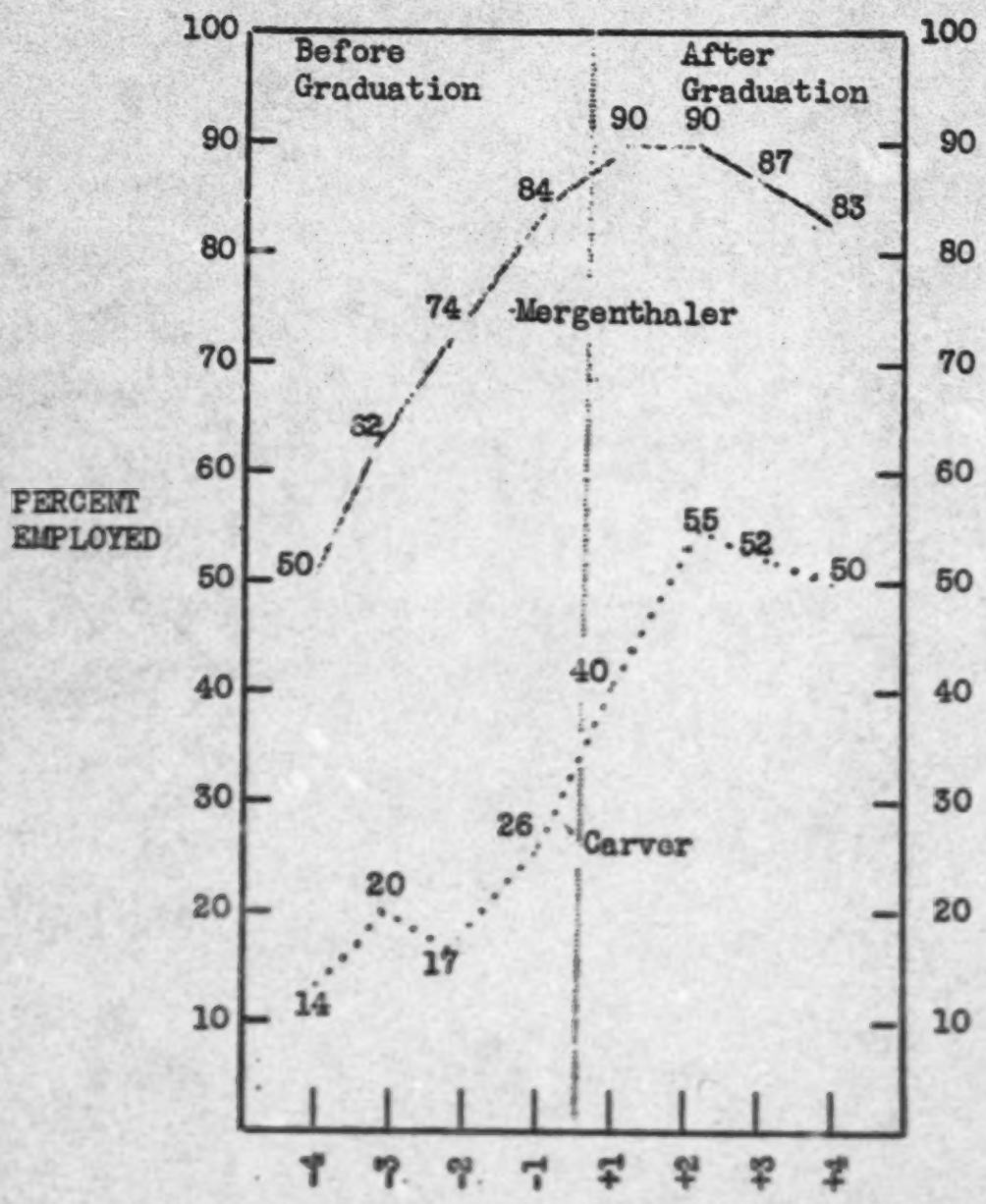
1. It should be emphasized that the Norton-Bright data cover time of conception and birth among couples who marry. Their data do not enable us to infer the illegitimacy patterns of whites and Negroes who do not marry.

FIGURE 3

PERCENT EMPLOYED IN FOUR QUARTERS BEFORE GRADUATION AND FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION, BY SCHOOL

FEMALES



B. White and Negro Males

Let us look first at the employment opportunities of the Negro men. Table 15 presents the percent of Carver High School males in each graduating class from June 1956 to June 1960 that are employed during each of the first four quarters after graduation.

TABLE 15

PERCENT OF CARVER H.S. MALES EMPLOYED DURING EACH OF FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION

GRADUATING CLASS	PERCENT EMPLOYED				BASE
	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER	
June 1956	61%	48%	78%	83%	(23)
January 1957	73	91	100	91	(11)
June 1957	87	80	83	90	(30)
January 1958	73	73	82	100	(11)
June 1958	75	75	71	82	(28)
January 1959	36	79	100	86	(14)
June 1959	74	85	76	85	(54)
January 1960	67	86	76	71	(21)
June 1960	83	83	83	89	(18)

Inspection of the percentages in the table above makes it fairly evident that the employment opportunities of Carver males are much greater than for the Carver females. In fact, if we combine the nine classes and compare the relative percentage of employment in each quarter we see that the level of employment among the men is 140 - 180 percent of that for the women (Table 16). The employment level of the female graduates of Carver hovers around the 50 percent mark in their first year on the labor market, while the male graduates improve from 72 percent in their first three months after graduation to 85 percent in the last three months of their first year on the labor market. Only in the fourth quarter do the Negro males finally achieve employment parity with the white females. This parity is the result of their increasing employment coupled with the decreasing percentage of Mergenthaler females in the labor force.

And the employment opportunities of the white males? Comparable figures are shown in Table 17. The pattern of employment among the Mergenthaler males is similar to that among the Carver males. In each quarter, the males tend to increase their level of employment, contrasted with the females whose employment reaches a peak in the second quarter after graduation and then starts to decline (Figure 4).

The employment of Mergenthaler males relative to the other subgroups is presented in Table 18. Note that the Mergenthaler males exceed the level of employment of the Mergenthaler females only in the third quarter after the female employment level has started to decline. Our data do not enable us to infer whether the males are more selective than the female whites in their job-hunting or whether the males take longer to get jobs because of fewer opportunities.

TABLE 16

PERCENT OF CARVER HIGH SCHOOL MALE GRADUATES EMPLOYED
DURING FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AND COMPARISON WITH
CARVER AND MERGENTHALER FEMALES
(ALL CLASSES COMBINED)

PERIOD AFTER GRADUATION	PERCENT EMPLOYED	AS PERCENT OF CARVER FEMALE EMPLOYMENT	AS PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER FEMALE EMPLOYMENT
First Quarter	72%	180%	80%
Second Quarter	78	140	87
Third Quarter	80	150	92
Fourth Quarter	85	170	102

TABLE 17

PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER H.S. MALES EMPLOYED DURING EACH OF FIRST FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION

	PERCENT EMPLOYED				BASE
	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER	
June 1956	87%	81%	97%	100%	(37)
January 1957	91	95	100	91	(22)
June 1957	96	93	84	87	(45)
January 1958	71	86	79	93	(13)
June 1958	84	90	90	94	(31)
January 1959	85	90	95	95	(20)
June 1959	93	93	93	91	(54)
January 1960	64	100	93	86	(14)
June 1960	83	89	89	94	(47)

FIGURE 4

PERCENT EMPLOYED IN FOUR QUARTERS BEFORE GRADUATION AND FOUR QUARTERS AFTER GRADUATION, BY SCHOOL

MALES

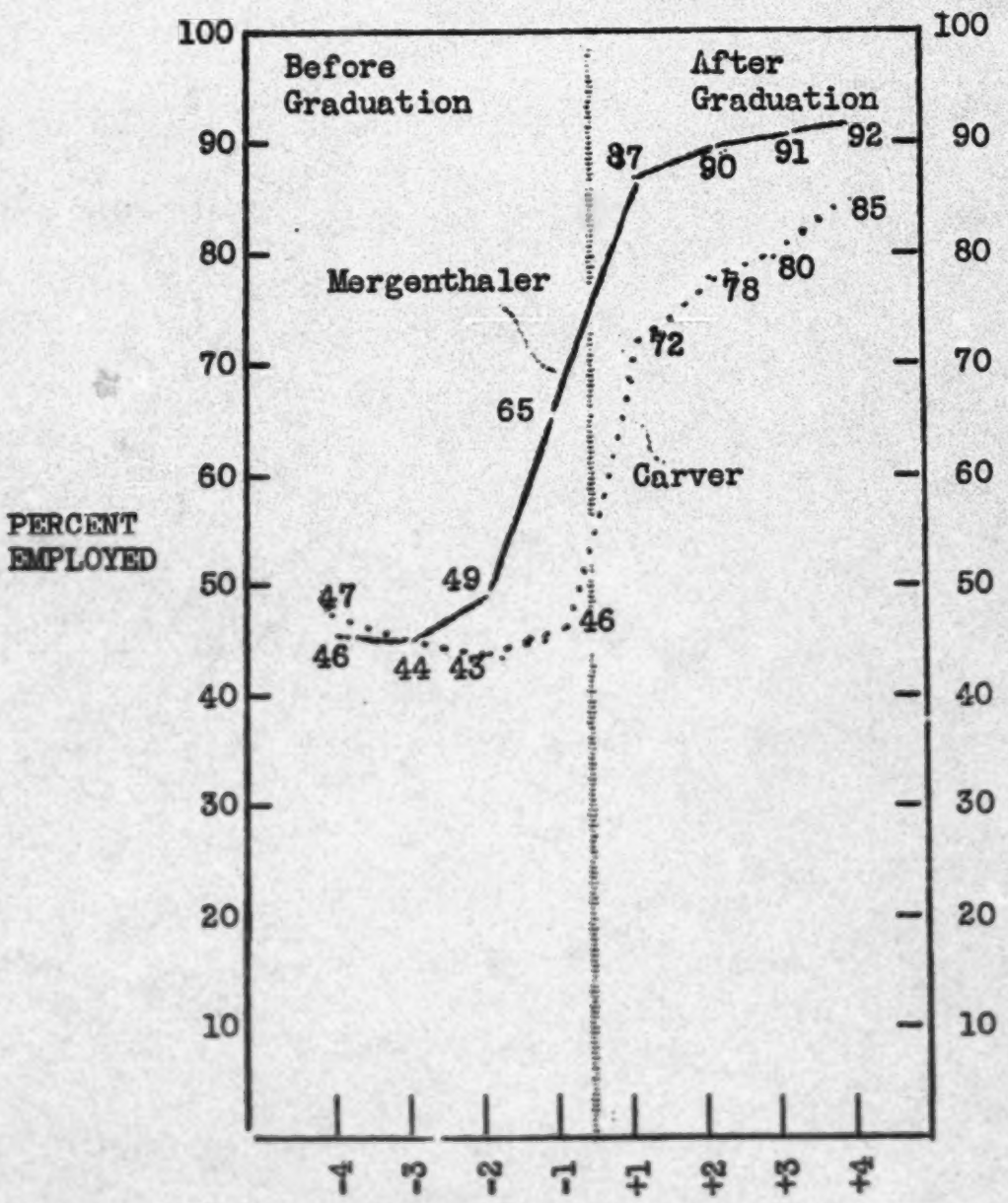


TABLE 18

PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER H.S. MALE GRADUATES THAT ARE EMPLOYED DURING FIRST FOUR QUARTERS: COMPARISON WITH OTHER GROUPS (ALL CLASSES COMBINED)

PERIOD AFTER GRADUATION	PERCENT EMPLOYED	COMPARISON WITH OTHER GROUPS		
		AS PERCENT OF MERGENTHALER FEMALE EMPLOYED	AS PERCENT OF CARVER MALE EMPLOYED	AS PERCENT OF CARVER FEMALE EMPLOYED
First Quarter	87%	97%	121%	217%
Second Quarter	90	100	115	164
Third Quarter	91	105	114	160
Fourth Quarter	92	111	112	184

III. WAGES AMONG REGULAR WORKERS

In the preceding pages comparisons of earnings of Carver and of Mergenthaler graduates revealed striking differences. Also, comparisons of employment levels revealed striking differences. The question that naturally suggests itself is: To what extent are these differential earnings the result of differential rates of employment? To answer this question we must compare earnings of workers with equal periods of employment. The closest matching permitted by our data is between those who were employed during four quarters of a calendar year. (Had additional earnings data been purchased from Social Security, the matching could have been improved.) Although some four-quarter workers are probably part-time, it is the best indicator we have of regular employment. Before comparing earnings among regularly-employed workers, it should be emphasized that the proportion of four-quarter workers among Carver and Mergenthaler graduates differ considerably, as the following distributions reveal:

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF QUARTERLY PERIODS EMPLOYED DURING FIRST YEAR AFTER GRADUATION, BY SCHOOL & SEX[a]

NUMBER OF QUARTERS EMPLOYED	SCHOOL			
	CARVER H.S.		MERGENTHALER H.S.	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Four	24%	54%	77%	77%
Three	19	22	10	12
Two	16	12	4	7
One	12	8	4	2
None	29	3	5	2
100% =	(244)	(210)	(207)	(283)

[a]Because of rounding errors some columns do not total 100.

Keeping in mind that about three-fourths of the Morgenthaler graduates tend to be regular workers, that about one-half of Carver males are regular workers, and only one-fourth of Carver females are in this category, we can proceed to the comparisons. Table 20 compares the median earnings of regularly-employed female workers:

TABLE 20

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER FEMALE GRADUATES

GRADUATING CLASS	YEAR	SCHOOL		DIFFERENCE IN EARNINGS
		Carver	Morgenthaler	
January 1957	1957	$35.13	$42.85	$ 7.72
January 1958	1958	19.00	40.63	21.63
January 1959	1959	30.27	41.50	11.23
January 1960	1960	30.36	44.21	13.85
June 1956	1957	38.15	50.36	12.21
June 1957	1958	32.79	50.46	17.67
June 1958	1959	40.69	53.52	12.83
June 1959	1960	34.08	50.90	16.82
June 1960	1961	37.04	52.79	15.75

The difference among regularly-employed female graduates is approximately $14 per week. Perhaps the difference between Morgenthaler and Carver four-quarter workers is brought out more clearly by examining the median weekly earnings of Carver females as a percent of the median weekly earnings of Morgenthaler females (Table 21).

TABLE 21

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER CARVER FEMALES AS A PERCENT OF MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER MERGENTHALER FEMALES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	PERCENT
January 1957	1957	82
January 1958	1958	47
January 1959	1959	73
January 1960	1960	69
June 1956	1957	76
June 1957	1958	65
June 1958	1959	76
June 1959	1960	67
June 1960	1961	70

The percentages range from a low of 47% to a high of 82%. Overall, 70% appears to be a fair approximation of the average. If the percentages for four-quarter workers are compared with the percentages in Table 4 (page 13), which cover all of the female workers, it is evident that the situation of regularly-employed females from Carver is relatively more favorable. It may be that the 25% of Carver graduates who have regular jobs are the most motivated and most qualified, but even these girls do not earn anything approaching equal pay.

It may be of interest to compare the differentials in this study with national differentials. The figures below[1] show the median wage and salary incomes of white and nonwhite full-time female workers for the years 1957 to 1960:

1. Source: The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin S-3, Revised 1962, p. 9.

YEAR	MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS Nonwhites	Whites	NONWHITE AS PERCENT OF WHITE
1957	$35.90	$59.75	60.1
1958	38.19	62.02	61.6
1959	42.23	63.58	66.4
1960	45.62	65.58	69.6

With respect to narrowing of earnings differentials for regular workers, the Carver-Mergenthaler figures are qualitatively in agreement with the national ones reported above. As far as absolute earnings are concerned, no considerable number of Mergenthaler female regular workers earn more than $65 per week in their first year or two on the labor market nor do any considerable number of Carver females earn $45 per week. Also, the national figures exhibit a 10% change over the four years. We can find no trend from the June 1956 to June 1960 class, although the variability of the percentages could easily obscure a small trend.

The picture for regularly-employed males is different. Table 22 presents the earnings of both groups. The column "Difference in Earnings" plainly shows that among the regular workers there is a considerable gap in earnings - the average is approximately $19 per week. However, if we look at the Carver earnings as a percent of the Mergenthaler earnings (Table 23), we see that among the regular workers the average percentage is close to 62%, which may be remembered as the figure for all male graduates (Table 8, page 20).

TABLE 22

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER MALE GRADUATES

GRADUATING CLASS	YEAR	SCHOOL		DIFFERENCE IN EARNINGS
		Carver	Morgenthaler	
January 1957	1957	$45.06	$47.54	$ 2.48
January 1958	1958	25.60	45.17	19.57
January 1959	1959	21.17	50.54	29.37
January 1960	1960	37.33	48.10	10.77
June 1956	1957	21.15	55.65	34.50
June 1957	1958	32.98	43.19	10.21
June 1958	1959	31.46	47.35	15.89
June 1959	1960	25.21	53.56	28.35
June 1960	1961	23.08	47.10	24.02

TABLE 23

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER CARVER MALES AS A PERCENT OF MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FOUR-QUARTER MORGENTHALER MALES

GRADUATING CLASS	PERIOD	PERCENT
January 1957	1957	95
January 1958	1958	57
January 1959	1959	42
January 1960	1960	78
June 1956	1957	38
June 1957	1958	76
June 1958	1959	66
June 1959	1960	47
June 1960	1961	49

The comparable national figures for regular nonwhite and white workers are as follows:[1]

YEAR	MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS		NONWHITE AS PERCENT OF WHITE
	Nonwhites	Whites	
1957	$60.33	$95.19	63.4
1958	64.77	99.73	64.9
1959	64.21	104.92	61.2
1960	72.86	108.88	66.9

The Carver-Morgenthaler ratios are somewhat less than the national ones.

In general, Carver females do poorly on the labor market. When they are regularly-employed, however, there is a dramatic improvement relative to Morgenthaler graduates. Carver males, on the other hand, do not appear to improve their relative position as regular workers.

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1. Source: The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin S-3, Revised 1962, p. 9.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

As far as the initial employment experiences of graduates in trades taught both at Carver and at Mergenthaler High School, the facts are clear and decisive:

1. In the first year following graduation, the median earnings of Carver female graduates is approximately $11 per week; contrastingly, the median earnings for Mergenthaler females is about $50 per week. In only one of the nine graduating classes studied did the median Carver earnings reach 50 percent of the median Mergenthaler earnings.

2. Carver males do relatively better than Carver females. Their median earnings is about $22 per week; for Mergenthaler males the figure is about $38.

3. In large part differences in earnings stem from differences in employment rates. During the first year only 1 in 4 Carver females is regularly employed, only 1 in 2 Carver males, and 3 in 4 Mergenthaler males and females.

4. Within three months after graduation, Mergenthaler females are employed at a rate of 90 percent whereas Carver females scarcely rise above the 50 percent level. For male graduates, there is a 15 percent difference in employment immediately after graduation but at the end of the first year the figure narrows to 7 percent. At the end of the first year, the rate of non-employment for Mergenthaler males is 8 percent; for Carver males, 15 percent.

5. Differences in employment do not abruptly start at graduation. They continue a pattern that is well under way at graduation. For example, one year before graduation 50 percent of Mergenthaler females are employed; 14 percent of Carver females are employed.

6. Even among regularly-employed workers, the ratio of earnings for Carver graduates relative to Mergenthaler graduates does not exceed 70 percent. In dollars, a regularly-employed Mergenthaler female can expect to earn, on the average, about $14 per week more than a regularly-employed Carver female; for Mergenthaler males, the figure is about $19.

These facts are not based on our impressions nor on reports of graduates in interviews, subject to all of the hazards of memory, fantasy, falsification, or bias. They are based on records which employers are required by federal law to submit to the Social Security Administration. Whether the results are unique to the schools studied or have more general applicability cannot be stated. We recommend that the matter be removed from the realm of speculation.

The question may be raised: Is it not possible that the graduates of Mergenthaler include a higher proportion of students in trades which normally command higher wages? By selecting only those trades that are taught at both schools, we have to some extent controlled for differences in trade composition. Comparability cannot simply be established by listing the higher-paid trades and comparing distribution of the two schools. Trades which may normally command higher wages among Negroes do not necessarily command relatively high wages among whites. During the first year, for example, the highest paid Carver trade was the lowest paid Mergenthaler trade: electricians.

In aggregating the trades, we do not feel that anyone will be misled. Among the male trades, the lowest difference in median annual earnings is $600 - among the electricians; and of the three female trades, the lowest difference in median annual earnings is $1500. Subsequent reports by individual trade will provide more refined figures.

The results that we find most confounding are the differences between Carver and Mergenthaler females, the great majority of whom are students in business education. Although vocational education has frequently been attacked with the charge that students are being instructed in obsolete

trades, it cannot be said about business education. In fact, the Morgenthaler girls seem to have less difficulty in securing employment than most of the Morgenthaler boys. Despite the apparently greater demand for business majors, Carver females could not achieve more than 55 percent employment.

Moreover, those who pursue a course in business education are not confronted with the impediment of union discrimination which many of the Carver males must face. Wallace Mendelson, reporting on the findings of the Civil Rights Commission, states:

> ". . . In Baltimore no Negroes belong to the ironworkers, steamfitters, plumbers, electrical workers, or sheetmetal workers unions. The carpenters have segregated locals. The cement masons, painters, plasterers, lathers, bricklayers, construction workers, operating engineers, and riggers unions admit Negroes on a limited scale. Thus, out of 10,000 members of 13 locals, there are less than 400 nonwhites, two-thirds of whom are in the cement masons and the segregated carpenters unions . . ."[1]

It should be noted that the largest differences occur among the females and that these differences are also the most reliable from a statistical viewpoint. The great majority of females studied here pursued a course in business education. Of 575 business graduates, approximately 68 percent were sampled; and in no class from June 1956 to June 1960 were less than 50 percent of the business majors included, either from Carver or from Morgenthaler. (The median annual earnings of June graduates who majored in business education for the period 7 - 18 months after graduation was $621 for Carver girls and $2,613 for Morgenthaler girls.)

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1. Wallace Mendelson, Discrimination (Based on the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights). Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962, p. 107.

Earlier we considered some possible explanations for the tremendous differences in earnings and employment between Carver and Morgenthaler girls. Undoubtedly, some will attribute these differences to "cultural deprivation." This is another way of saying that Negroes come from unwholesome environments, that their parents have little formal schooling, that they lack initiative and ambition, that they are not reliable or punctual, etc. More candid discussions may produce items such as neglected teeth, matters of personal hygiene, stealing, etc. Undoubtedly, some of these factors play a role in getting a job and holding a job: They need to be investigated. But cultural deprivation cannot explain why the Carver girls who come from the same deprived environments as Carver boys experience so much more difficulty in securing employment. Nor can it explain why Morgenthaler girls who come from the same non-deprived environments as Morgenthaler boys seem to experience less trouble in finding employment.

These are some of the reasons why the differentials between females are disturbing. The facts are clear enough but why they are so is not at all clear. The sources of these differentials should be given high research priority.

APPENDIX

1. TRADES EXCLUDED FROM STUDY

Only graduates in the twelve trades taught at both Carver and at Morgenthaler High Schools were sampled. Trades taught at either school but not both were excluded. These are listed below:

Trades taught at Morgenthaler H.S. only

- Aircraft and General Sheet Metal
- Airplane Mechanics
- Commercial Baking
- Industrial Electronics
- Mechanical Drafting and Design
- Metal Casting
- Oil Burner Installation
- Plumbing and Heating
- Practical Nursing
- Printing
- Technicians Program

Trades taught at Carver H.S. only

- Dry Cleaning and Pressing
- Painting and Paperhanging
- Shoe Repairing
- Tailoring and Design

2. TOTAL NUMBER OF GRADUATES IN TRADES TAUGHT AT BOTH CARVER HIGH SCHOOL AND AT MORGENTHALER HIGH SCHOOL, BY SCHOOL AND BY SEX

GRADUATING CLASS	SCHOOL					
	Carver H.S.			Morgenthaler H.S.		
	Males	Females	TOTAL	Males	Females	TOTAL
June 1956	40	54	(94)	67	69	(136)
January 1957	21	14	(35)	45	41	(86)
June 1957	48	54	(102)	75	89	(164)
January 1958	20	30	(50)	22	27	(49)
June 1958	56	67	(123)	54	64	(118)
January 1959	20	29	(49)	35	27	(62)
June 1959	77	72	(149)	89	61	(150)
January 1960	34	30	(64)	26	31	(57)
June 1960	24	60	(84)	86	64	(150)
TOTALS:	(340)	(410)	(750)	(499)	(473)	(972)

3. GRADUATES IN SAMPLE, BY GRADUATION CLASS, SCHOOL, AND SEX

GRADUATING CLASS	SCHOOL				TOTAL
	Carver H.S.		Morgenthaler H.S.		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
June 1956	24	40	38	47	(149)
January 1957	11	6	22	29	(68)
June 1957	30	37	45	59	(171)
January 1958	12	18	13	16	(59)
June 1958	33	48	32	45	(158)
January 1959	15	20	20	16	(71)
June 1959	55	50	54	42	(201)
January 1960	23	20	15	22	(79)
June 1960	18	42	50	42	(152)
TOTALS:	(220)	(281)	(289)	(318)	(1108)

4. CASES OMITTED FROM REPORT #1[a]

GRADUATING CLASS	SCHOOL				TOTAL
	Carver H.S.		Morgenthaler H.S.		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
June 1956	1	5	1	2	(9)
January 1957		1			(1)
June 1957		3			(3)
January 1958	1	3		1	(5)
June 1958	5	3		1	(9)
January 1959	1	5			(6)
June 1959	1	6		4	(11)
January 1960	1	3	1	1	(6)
June 1960		8	3	3	(14)
TOTALS:	(10)	(37)	(6)	(11)	(64)

[a]29 of the cases had no social security account number;
33 cases had account numbers but no earnings;
2 cases were not positively identifiable by Social Security.

5. PLACE OF BIRTH

(All Mergenthaler H.S. Graduates in Twelve Trades)

Birthplace	Males	Females	Total
Baltimore	313	305	618
South Atlantic:			
Md. only	4	7	11
Md. - elsewhere	4	5	9
Delaware	1	1	2
D.C.	3	1	4
Virginia	3	8	11
West Virginia	12	9	21
North Carolina	3	6	9
South Carolina	1	3	4
Florida	1	0	1
Mid-Atlantic:			
New York	2	2	4
New Jersey	1	1	2
Pennsylvania	21	16	37
E. South Central:			
Kentucky	4	2	6
Tennessee	4	0	4
W. South Central:			
Texas	0	1	1
E. North Central:			
Wisconsin	0	1	1
Michigan	0	1	1
Indiana	1	0	1
W. North Central:			
South Dakota	0	1	1
New England:			
Connecticut	1	2	3
Pacific:			
California	0	1	1
Hawaii	1	0	1
Non-U.S.A.	4	0	4
U.S.A. only	69	74	143
No information	46	26	72
TOTALS:	(499)	(473)	(972)

6. PLACE OF BIRTH

(All Carver H.S. Graduates in Twelve Trades)

Birthplace	Males	Females	Total
Baltimore	228	259	487
South Atlantic:			
Md. only	4	8	12
Md. - elsewhere	3	4	7
Delaware	0	1	1
D.C.	1	1	2
Virginia	16	28	44
West Virginia	2	3	5
North Carolina	32	28	60
South Carolina	27	43	70
Georgia	2	5	7
Florida	2	3	5
Mid-Atlantic:			
New York	1	2	3
New Jersey	2	0	2
E. South Central:			
Tennessee	2	0	2
Alabama	3	1	4
New England:			
Connecticut	0	1	1
U.S.A. only	5	5	10
No information	10	18	28
TOTALS:	(340)	(410)	(750)

7. MEDIAN DATE OF BIRTH OF FEMALE GRADUATES

GRADUATING CLASS	School		Older Group	Difference (Days)
	Carver H.S.	Mergenthaler H.S.		
June 1956	4-2-38	5-30-38	Carver	59
January 1957	2-5-39	9-22-38	Mergenthaler	136
June 1957	2-24-39	5-22-39	Carver	87
January 1958	7-7-39	5-20-39	Mergenthaler	48
June 1958	3-31-40	5-27-40	Carver	57
January 1959	12-6-40	11-29-40	Mergenthaler	7
June 1959	4-25-41	5-23-41	Carver	28
January 1960	11-26-41	9-26-41	Mergenthaler	61
June 1960	7-4-42	6-9-42	Mergenthaler	25

8. AGE OF BRIDES MARRIED IN BALTIMORE CITY DURING 1959, BY RACE (INCLUDES ONLY BALTIMORE RESIDENTS)[a]

AGE AT MARRIAGE	WHITE		NEGRO		OTHER		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 15	12	0.3	12	0.4	-	-	24	0.4
15 - 17	495	13.5	407	14.2	2	*	904	13.8
18 - 19	870	23.8	511	17.8	3	*	1,384	21.2
20 - 24	1,130	30.1	792	27.6	3	*	1,898	29.0
25 - 29	385	10.5	346	12.1	3	*	734	11.2
30 - 34	233	6.4	264	9.2	2	*	499	7.6
35 - 39	189	5.1	196	6.8	-	-	385	5.9
40 - 44	141	3.9	123	4.3	-	-	264	4.0
45 - 49	83	2.3	89	3.1	-	-	172	2.6
50 - 54	70	1.9	60	2.1	-	-	130	2.0
55 & over	79	2.2	68	2.4	1	*	148	2.3
N.A.	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL:	3,660	100.0	2,869	100.0	14	100.0	6,543	100.0

[a]Source: Study of premarital conception being done by Sidney Norton, Baltimore City Health Department and Margaret Bright, Department of Chronic Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.

9. AGE OF GROOMS MARRIED IN BALTIMORE CITY DURING 1959, BY RACE (INCLUDES ONLY BALTIMORE RESIDENTS)[a]

AGE AT MARRIAGE	WHITE		NEGRO		OTHER		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 17	48	1.3	56	1.9	-	-	104	1.6
18 - 19	388	10.6	309	10.8	1	*	698	10.7
20 - 24	1,448	39.6	998	34.8	10	*	2,456	37.5
25 - 29	735	20.1	452	15.3	2	*	1,189	18.2
30 - 34	343	9.4	306	10.7	4	*	653	10.0
35 - 39	217	5.9	232	8.1	1	*	450	6.9
40 - 44	123	3.4	153	5.3	1	*	277	4.2
45 - 49	121	3.3	136	4.7	-	-	257	3.9
50 - 54	79	2.2	75	2.6	-	-	154	2.3
55 & over	152	4.2	152	5.3	1	*	305	4.7
TOTAL:	3,654	100.0	2,869	100.0	20	100.0	6,543	100.0

[a]Source: Study of pre-marital conception being done by Sidney Norton, Baltimore City Health Department, and Margaret Bright, Department of Chronic Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.

10. PREMARITALLY CONCEIVED BIRTHS PER 100 WHITE MARRIED COUPLES, BY TIME OF OCCURRENCE OF BIRTH AND BY AGE OF BRIDE (BALTIMORE CITY, 1959; ONLY BALTIMORE CITY RESIDENTS INCLUDED)[a]

AGE OF BRIDE	TOTAL PREMARITALLY CONCEIVED BIRTHS		TIME OF OCCURRENCE OF BIRTH				TOTAL MARRIED COUPLES
			Before Marriage		After Marriage		
Under 18	21.0	(106)	0.8	(4)	20.2	(102)	(506)
18 - 19	10.2	(89)	1.6	(14)	8.6	(75)	(869)
20 - 24	7.6	(83)	2.2	(24)	5.4	(59)	(1100)
25 - 29	8.8	(34)	3.1	(12)	5.7	(22)	(385)
30 - 34	6.4	(15)	2.1	(5)	4.3	(10)	(233)
35 - 39	4.7	(9)	2.6	(5)	2.1	(4)	(189)
40 - 44	1.4	(2)	0.7	(1)	0.7	(1)	(141)

[a]Source: Study of pre-marital conception being done by Sidney Norton, Baltimore City Health Department, and Margaret Bright, Department of Chronic Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.

11. PREMARITALLY CONCEIVED BIRTHS PER 100 NEGRO MARRIED COUPLES, BY TIME OF OCCURRENCE OF BIRTH AND BY AGE OF BRIDE (BALTIMORE CITY, 1959; ONLY BALTIMORE CITY RESIDENTS INCLUDED)[a]

AGE OF BRIDE	TOTAL PREMARITALLY CONCEIVED BIRTHS		TIME OF OCCURRENCE OF BIRTH				TOTAL MARRIED COUPLES
			Before Marriage		After Marriage		
Under 18	60.5	(253)	19.4	(81)	41.1	(172)	(418)
18 - 19	46.4	(237)	17.0	(87)	29.4	(150)	(511)
20 - 24	32.8	(260)	15.0	(119)	17.8	(141)	(792)
25 - 29	24.3	(84)	15.3	(53)	9.0	(31)	(346)
30 - 34	15.1	(40)	9.4	(25)	5.7	(15)	(265)
35 - 39	11.2	(22)	6.6	(13)	4.6	(9)	(196)
40 - 44	0.8	(1)	-	(0)	0.8	(1)	(123)

[a]Source: Study of pre-marital conception being done by Sidney Norton, Baltimore City Health Department, and Margaret Bright, Department of Chronic Diseases, Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health.